2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat[a] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations; it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[2] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 84. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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FREE TRANSLATION

*533

Beloved, it is good,
He is saying quietly,
The thunder, it is good.

Analysis.—The tempo of this song was slightly *rubato*, but the accents were clearly given. A portion of the song lies above the fundamental tone and a portion below it, which is somewhat unusual in Pawnee songs, although occurring frequently in the songs of certain other tribes. Progression is by a wide variety of intervals, one-third of which are intervals of a fourth. The song is minor in tonality and contains only the tones of the minor triad and second.

575 *533 In explanation of the following song it was said that long ago there was a society called *Iruska Virâû* (or *Pirâû*), translated "children of the Iruska." Members of this society did everything contrariwise. Thus in a fight they would not fire at the enemy unless commanded *not* to do so.[23] The song next following was said to be a song of that society and was recorded by the chief of the Chaui Band. The same melody with different words was used by the Skidi Band, the words of their version stating that a young man was told in a dream that he *533 would be killed the next day, but felt no fear. John Luwak (pl. 2, *a*), 775 who recorded the song, said it was his own war-dance song, explaining [424] the words as follows: "A dead person wanted a certain warrior to do right, so he said to him, 'If anyone is kind-hearted and good to the [622] poor he is made a chief and has a great name. When he dies we in the spirit land are glad and want to go and meet him because he was kind and good.'"

*533 *Analysis.*—Attention is directed to the rhythmic form of this song and a comparison of the rhythmic units. The song opens with a rather long phrase, which is repeated. The following tones represent a repetition of the rhythmic unit, but a second unit is introduced and continues to the end of the song. This is shorter and livelier than the first, though bearing some resemblance to it. The song is harmonic in structure and contains the tones of the second 5-toned scale. Only three intervals occur which are larger than a minor third. The tempo of the drum is slightly faster than that of the voice, this appearing in all renditions of the song.

[23] Cf. Teton Sioux Music, p. 157, concerning the Heyoka Kaga (Fool impersonation).

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
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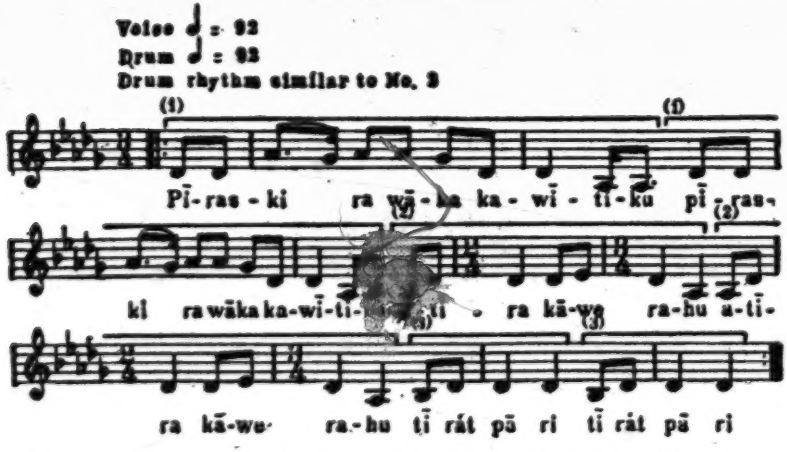
*533 unit and another which resembles it but is not exactly like any other phrase in the song. The rhythm was identical in all the renditions. The melody is less interesting than the rhythm, the first half being based on the interval of a fifth (F to C) and the last half on a fourth (D to G), with F as the principal tone of the song.

[775 765] The following song was also sung while the game was in progress. In explanation it was said, "This song belonged to a man who died long ago. He had one daughter and she died. The old man cried every day but at last, one night, he heard a cry in the woods. It was his daughter, who said, 'Father, I am in heaven.' Afterwards he did not cry any more."

No. 47. "I Hear the Sound of a Child Crying"

(Catalogue No. 1098)

Recorded by EFFIE BLAIN

Piraski	ra	wāka	kawītiku	atīra	kāwe
Child	have	sound	crying	mother	is she
rahu	tī	rát	pā	ri	
coming	here	I do	walk	around	

FREE TRANSLATION

I hear the sound of a child crying "Is my mother coming?
Here I walk around."

Analysis.—This melody is broadly outlined by the intervals of a fifth (D flat–A flat) and a fourth (A flat–D flat). The interval of a major third does not occur and almost one-third of the intervals are fourths. The song contains three rhythmic units occurring consecutively as in No. 42. The first unit is the longest, the second is shorter

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

On his marriage the husband lived with his wife in her parents' lodge until such time as he had proved himself capable of protecting and providing for his own family. At that time the parents of the two united in making him a tipi. The man then took the first opportunity of going on the warpath, during which time he placed his wife and children, if any, under the care of his own parents. Thereafter he and his family lived in their lodge, except when upon the hunt, when he used his own tipi. As soon as the man became a good warrior, medicine-man, or priest, or as soon as his father's lodge became crowded, the two families of the couple came together to build them a lodge, one family constructing the north half and the other the south half. On the completion of the lodge the husband himself fashioned the altar, while he and his wife together constructed the fireplace.

591 885 342

DIVORCE

It was said that divorce was formerly rare among the Skidi. If on the wedding night the husband found his bride was not a virgin, he could leave her at once. Also, should a wife prove unfaithful, the husband effected a divorce merely by leaving the lodge. The wife's relatives, however, might prepare a feast and invite him to partake of it. If he accepted, it was equivalent to remarriage. Barrenness on the part of the woman ("her spring has gone dry") was not considered grounds for divorce.

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If the husband committed adultery, his mother-in-law or the wife's grandmother could order him out of the lodge, in which case he was obliged to depart. The man who was lazy or an incompetent provider could also be driven out. In both cases the children remained with the wife.

DEATH

We may first consider the Skidi conception of the soul. All living beings have souls, which are closely associated with the wind. After death those of some people ascend to the heavens and become stars. The souls of others, including those who die of disease or die cowardly in battle, travel the dusty Milky-Way to the village of the spirits in the south. The souls of warriors who die bravely on the battlefield and of those who die in sacrifice travel a bloody trail to the village of the warriors. Anyone who tries to make the human sacrifice and fails, or does not perform the rite correctly, becomes burning flint under the feet of the Morning Star. The souls of chiefs and priests travel a road of flowers until they come to the guardian spirit who influenced them upon earth. On this road

705 [974]

5: Dorsey & Murie E,I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

775 they also encounter a golden eagle seated upon a mound, its eyes giving off sparks of fire. By some this eagle is thought to be Tirawa. The eagle directs the soul along the proper road, and as it approaches the spirit-village that is its destination, if it is time for it to enter, it is not stopped. If its possessor did not lead a good life, however, it may be directed back to earth and given another chance. The souls of medicine-men wander over the land visiting the lodges of animals and eventually reach the spirit-village of the medicine-men. Before entering, they must undergo a sweat bath and be sprinkled with fine dust.

774 775 According to one informant, souls are like small stars. At death, the soul goes off the way a cloud comes up and disappears, or the way a wind blows up and dies down. The souls of people who have been seen by the Star of Disease and who have as a result died of illness are taken by the South Star to his home in the south. The disposition of all other souls is determined by the Morning Star, who decides whether they shall be restored to life, taken with him to the east, or sent to the south. And it is the Morning Star's importance in this matter that caused the Skidi to bury their dead with the head toward the east.

764 As a rule, the preparation of the body for burial began immediately after death, and the burial followed within two or three hours.

[766] The preparation of the body varied according to the rank and position of the deceased. When a man of importance was about to die he was carefully dressed in his best costume. Immediately after death, the body was painted with sacred red ointment by a priest engaged specially for the purpose. By this paint the man's friends in the spirit land would know that he had been well taken care of on this earth. The red ointment gave the rough and emaciated skin a smooth and healthy appearance. The body was now considered holy, for a corpse without the red paint was looked upon as dust and could not enter the land of the spirits. (Relative to this belief see Dorsey, 1904, pp. 69 ff.) The dead man was next wrapped in his buffalo robe. Should he have been a member of a society possessing ceremonial paraphernalia, as, for example, the Dog Soldiers, his feathers, whistles, rattles, etc., would be placed with him, and his face painted according to the style employed by his society. In the case of other societies the body would be prepared in a similarly appropriate manner.

[888] The preparation of the bodies of those who died in extremely old age was similar to the method given above.

7: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

connected with the ceremony remained at the scaffold. 782
When the crowd had gone, the guardian removed the 796
arrows from the body one by one and handed them to an assistant who divided them into four bundles and laid these bundles northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest of the fireplace. The body was then taken down and carried a short distance to the east of the scaffold, where it was laid face down. The sacred arrow was drawn from its heart and laid upon it. All then returned to the village, and the place was [766] avoided for some time.

It was believed that the soul of the girl left her 775
body at the moment she was struck with the club and 782
went straight to Tirawa, who sent it to the Morning Star. The Morning Star clothed it with flint from his fireplace in the dawn and placed it among the stars in the heavens. Her body was thought to be not like ordinary bodies. Even after her death it possessed life. Things would be born from it, and the earth would be fertilized by it.

The sacrifice as a whole must be considered as a 773
dramatization of the overcoming of the Evening Star 782
by the Morning Star and their subsequent connection, 796
from which sprang all life on earth. The girl upon the scaffold seems to have been conceived of as a personification or embodiment of the Evening Star surrounded by her powers. When she was overcome, the life of the earth was renewed, insuring universal fertility and increase.

Human sacrifices were rare among the North 171
American Indians. The practice is known to have 782
existed among the Natchez, who lived in the present state of Mississippi, and possibly in Arizona and New Mexico. In Mexico, on the other hand, the idea was highly developed, and under the Aztec rule large numbers of victims were immolated every year. It may be

539 very brave, and the Cheyennes cut him up into small pieces, but that
773 night it lightened and thundered and rained, and soon after the storm was over, the young man came walking into camp alive. He was all scarred over, where he had been cut up, but he had come to life because the deer had looked after him. He lived long to show the scars of the battles he had been through.

THE GHOST BRIDE

539 In a place where we used to have a village, a young woman died just
773 before the tribe started on the hunt. When she died they dressed her
775 up in her finest clothes, and buried her, and soon after this the tribe started on the hunt.

A party of young men had gone off to visit another tribe, and they did not get back until after this girl had died and the tribe had left the village. Most of this party did not go back to the village, but met the tribe and went with them on the hunt. Among the young men who had been away was one who had loved this girl who had died. He went back alone to the village. It was empty and silent, but before he reached it, he could see, far off, some one sitting on top of a lodge. When he came near, he saw that it was the girl he loved. He did not know that she had died, and he wondered to see her there alone, for the time was coming when he would be her husband and she his wife. When she saw him coming, she came down from the top of the lodge and went inside. When he came close to her, he spoke and said, "Why are you here alone in the village?" She answered him, "They have gone off on the hunt. I was sulky with my relations, and they went off and left me behind." The man wanted her now to be his wife, but the girl said to him, "No, not yet, but later we will be married." She said to him, "You must not be afraid. To-night there will be dances here; the ghosts will dance." This is an old custom of the Pawnees. When they danced they used to go from one lodge to another, singing, dancing and hallooing. So now, when the tribe had

12 Grinnell N-5 (1870-1885)1961 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

gone and the village was deserted, the ghosts did this. He could hear them coming along the empty streets, and going from one lodge to another. They came into the lodge where he was, and danced about, and whooped and sang, and sometimes they almost touched him, and he came pretty near being scared.

The next day, the young man persuaded the girl to go on with him, and follow the tribe, to join it on the hunt. They started to travel together, and she promised him that she would surely be his wife, but not until the time came. They overtook the tribe; but before they got to the camp, the girl stopped. She said, "Now we have arrived, but you must go first to the village, and prepare a place for me. Where I sleep, let it be behind a curtain. For four days and four nights I must remain behind this curtain. Do not speak of me. Do not mention my name to any one."

The young man left her there and went into the camp. When he got to his lodge, he told a woman, one of his relations, to go out to a certain place and bring in a woman, who was waiting there for him. His relative asked him, "Who is the woman?" And to avoid speaking her name, he told who were her father and mother. His relation, in surprise, said, "It cannot be that girl, for she died some days before we started on the hunt."

When the woman went to look for the girl she could not find her. The girl had disappeared. The young man had disobeyed her, and had told who she was. She had told him that she must stay behind a curtain for four days, and that no one must know who she was. Instead of doing what she had said, he told who she was, and the girl disappeared because she was a ghost. If he had obeyed the girl, she would have lived a second time upon earth. That same night this young man died in sleep.

Then the people were convinced that there must be a life after this one.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

sharpen up his axe, fix up the ropes, borrow a horse to haul the wood if you need one. If two or three lodges are going afoot together, they must keep in line so that we know where you are." (Those with horses were in less danger and might go in any order.) There was another thing he warned them against—that is, taking young girls along. They were just the ones the Sioux would be trying to capture, and the old man remarked, they weren't really strong enough to carry wood anyway! Another danger was a magical one. The spirits of men who had been scalped by an enemy were very much feared. They were thought to lurk all around, trying to capture women or steal whatever else they could get their hands on. So the old man cautioned, "If a woman hasn't kept up, the line must wait for her until she arrives. She might be captured by one of the scalped men. This is the time you have to look out for that."

When the young men heard the crier's announcement, five or six of them would gather together at a favorite rendezvous and say, "Let's go together with our bows and arrows real early before the others and stay up there until everyone comes home." According to their plan, on the appointed morning they would go out before the others and disburse over the area to see whether the enemy was lurking about. They would leave the villages about 7:30 in the morning and stay out all day.

The chiefs' meeting had come to an end that afternoon while it was still full daylight. Old Bull had gone off to tend his horses. Victory Call, having nothing in particular to do since he had Horse Rider to help him, wandered over to the gaming grounds where some of the men were clustered about making their bets on the outcome of the hoop and spear game, while others were just watching on the sidelines. Victory Call sat down at some distance from the game and two of the spectators came to join him. The man who sat down at his left filled up his pipe and offered it to Victory Call, lighting it for him. Victory Call offered the mouthpiece upward for the first puff to the cosmic powers in the heavens saying, "Greetings, all of you spread out up there." Then he offered the mouthpiece to the earth and said, "Greetings, my mother." Now he took two puffs on the pipe and began to share it with the men on each side of him in the alternation: first to the right, then himself, then to the left, and so on. When the pipe was smoked out, Victory Call was feeling in a genial mood. He made a special arrangement of his robe that had up to now been carelessly draped around his shoulders. He drew it down to his waist and, crossing his legs with the robe folded in a certain order, showed by this token that he was ready to tell a story. The men who had sat down with him were anxious to hear what the chief had to say, and particularly what had gone on in the meeting he had just attended before the crier got around to announcing it. Several more men joined the party with the same idea in mind. Victory Call might begin directly, or one of the men would suggest it obliquely saying, "I heard you had a feast."

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

plaza before the Doctor Lodge with the crowd watching from the roofs of the surrounding earth lodges. It was called Big Dance, *Kihaxkutsu*, dance-big, and the doctors were in a greater or lesser degree of trance while they carried out their performance.

The A's, the secondary acts between the Big Dances, were indoor performances comprising a series of sleight-of-hand feats including trance induction in one doctor by another. They were held in the night from about eight o'clock until midnight and included a sequence of acts by four different doctors with drumming, rattling, singing, and dancing in the intervals. All during the day the doctors who were to perform in the evening prepared themselves and their paraphernalia and refrained from eating until the following morning. The performances were interspersed with blank days during which they all rested and made other preparations for the Big Dance as well as for their subsequent performances. The entire series of performances was introduced by an initial indoor performance and ended with a finale that featured a lively battle between the Bears and the Buffalo Clowns, whose theme was, "Who's afraid of the great big bears? They're only little puppies after all!"

The C units were a special type of mime also given outdoors, featuring the "Scalped Ones," the *Kitsahuruksu*, who were thickly plastered with mud "so that they looked like mud banks approaching" and acted in weird and fearsome ways. It was a Pawnee belief that should a person who had been scalped survive, he could never return to his people. It was reasoned that if anyone did survive the process of being scalped by the enemy, he would become so malevolent that he could not live in society. Such a man would make himself a dugout in an embankment and live by attacking people and stealing what he needed. Frank North in his autobiography tells of a young woman who had been scalped by the Sioux in one of their raids in June 1861 while she was returning from her cornfield. Found to be alive, she was apparently buried up to the neck in an old Mormon cellar with a straw matting over her head and face and left there to die. She was rescued and nursed back to health by the schoolmistress, Mrs. Platt. There is of course, no proof that this was the work of the Pawnees themselves, nor can anyone substantiate the subsequent report that she was dispatched with a tomahawk after her return to the tribe and sunk in a deep eddy in Beaver Creek. It does indicate, however, that a person could survive scalping. A tribal belief was universally maintained that a scalped person could never return to the tribe. Children were constantly warned about these mischievous spirits and alive or dead they were considered a threat to adults also. They lived by stealing whatever they could get and sometimes seized women and young people. Because of them people were afraid to go about in the dark, especially near the banks of streams.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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80 On the ownership of the sacred bundles: The Evening Star bundle is in the American Museum of Natural History, New York City; also the Skull bundle. At the Chicago Museum of Natural History is the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the Northeast Four-Direction bundle with the star chart (*riwirutsaku*, round-package) attached to it; also in the Chicago Museum is the Elk bundle, *arikarariki*. The Morning Star bundle is privately owned.

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80 Dorsey, 1904a, p. 331, note 24, makes the distinction between dream and vision. Vision is to "learn by being touched when the individual is awake or is in a trance, brought about by fasting or self-imposed hypnotism. Thus in a group of priests sitting in silence in a ceremony, one of them may in a vision see clearly some god or supernatural being and hold converse with it, while the other priests present are not aware of the presence of supernatural beings." The Pawnee made a clear distinction between hysteria as a source of vision and a vision of creative imagination. An example is the young man, Yellow Calf, who saw a deer woman whose charms he was unable to resist although his vision had dissolved. His problem was resolved by his marriage to an older medicine woman, Old Lady Tsitawa, leader of the Deer Medicine Lodge in the Doctor Association. In general it was prescribed that when someone is seen wildly coming out of the woods, they be immersed in water to bring them out of it.

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80 The spirits of the dead priests are thought to be contained within the gourd rattles, symbolized particularly by the pebbles they contained.

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83 Compare in Whorf, 1929, p. 670, the five suns listed—water, jaguar, rain, wind, and ollin—and the remarks on each with the Pawnee creation story in view of the tradition of the four direction villages, their leadership in ceremonialism, the star chart attached to one of the bundles, and other cosmic references. Note in the Whorf reference that it is stated that in the year 752, the Toltecs set up King Mixcoatmazatzin who began the Toltec kingdom. In Ceacatl 843 Quetzalcoatl was born. In five house the Toltec retain him in the country and make him their king and priest. Quetzalcoatl built a fourfold group of buildings where he and others prayed and fasted, conducted skilled work in precious stones and held religious rites. It was a celestial and astronomical cult with stellar and solar deities. Far-fetched as it may seem, Pawnee ideology appears to embody a faint echo of such conceptions. Certain elements in J. Eric Thompson's, *The Rise and Fall of Maya Civilization* (1956) contain some tantalizing parallels. For example: "The sky was sustained by four Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

80-81 Bacabs who stood at four sides of the world. More general, of course, is the association of the colors with the directions. In Pawnee mythology, the storm that accomplishes the creation

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